

Family Practices in Instilling Social Values to Children in Sidoarjo Multicultural Society

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Abstract

This study aims to examine how multicultural families in Sidoarjo internalize social values in children, focusing on forms, strategies, and contextual dynamics of the process. Using a qualitative case study approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation involving four multicultural families with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds (13 participants). Data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model. The findings indicate that families play a central role in shaping children's social behavior through three main strategies: parental role modeling, educational interpersonal communication, and children's involvement in community-based social activities. These practices foster values such as tolerance, empathy, mutual respect, and responsibility within multicultural settings. The study also reveals that socio-economic background, parental education level, and local cultural traditions influence variations in value internalization practices. Overall, this research highlights the importance of culturally responsive family socialization in supporting social cohesion in multicultural societies.

Keywords: cultural diversity, identity formation, parenting, socialization, tolerance

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana keluarga multikultural di Sidoarjo menginternalisasikan nilai-nilai sosial kepada anak, dengan menitikberatkan pada bentuk, strategi, dan dinamika kontekstual proses tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan dokumentasi yang melibatkan empat keluarga multikultural dengan latar belakang etnis dan agama yang beragam (13 partisipan). Analisis data dilakukan menggunakan model analisis interaktif Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keluarga memiliki peran sentral dalam membentuk perilaku sosial anak melalui tiga strategi utama, yaitu keteladanan orang tua, komunikasi interpersonal edukatif, dan keterlibatan anak dalam kegiatan sosial berbasis komunitas. Praktik-praktik tersebut mendorong terbentuknya nilai toleransi, empati, saling menghargai, dan tanggung jawab dalam konteks multikultural. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa latar belakang sosial ekonomi, tingkat pendidikan orang tua, dan tradisi budaya lokal memengaruhi variasi praktik internalisasi nilai. Secara keseluruhan, penelitian ini menegaskan pentingnya praktik pengasuhan yang responsif terhadap keberagaman dalam mendukung kohesi sosial di masyarakat multikultural.

Kata kunci: keanekaragaman budaya, pengasuhan anak, pembentukan identitas, sosialisasi, toleransi

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Introduction

The family represents the earliest and most influential arena for the formation of children's moral orientations, social behaviors, and value systems. Through routine interactions and everyday communication, parents transmit fundamental values such as empathy, responsibility, honesty, and respect, which subsequently guide children's engagement within broader social environments (Yulianti et al., 2023; Aswandy & Fitriana, 2022). Previous studies consistently demonstrate that effective family communication strengthens children's emotional regulation, social competence, and adaptability within diverse social contexts (Isnaeni, 2025; Sabarua & Mornene, 2020). In this regard, the family functions as a primary site of social value reproduction across generations.

Nevertheless, value internalization within families has become increasingly complex in the contemporary digital era. Children are now exposed to multiple and often contradictory moral references originating from digital media, transnational cultural flows, and peer networks, many of which conflict with values promoted within the household (Daniswara & Faristiana, 2023; Najmudin et al., 2023). Without adaptive parenting strategies and sustained emotional communication, families risk losing their authority as primary moral guides (Nurhayati et al., 2024; Palenti et al., 2025). Although existing studies highlight the role of multicultural education and family communication in fostering tolerance and empathy (Dewi & Mardiana, 2023; Kusumawati & Hasanah, 2024), most of this literature treats multiculturalism as a broad and abstract category, providing limited insight into how value negotiation unfolds within everyday family practices embedded in specific local socio-cultural contexts.

This limitation is particularly evident in Sidodadi Village, Taman District, Sidoarjo Regency, a multicultural community shaped not by formal diversity policies but by industrialization-driven labor migration. Sidodadi is not merely culturally diverse; it is a densely populated industrial settlement where Javanese-Muslim, Madurese-Muslim, Chinese-Christian, Batak-Catholic, and migrant families coexist within shared residential spaces. Unlike multicultural contexts examined in previous studies such as elite urban neighbourhood, minority majority settings, or institutionally regulated environments multiculturalism in Sidodadi is produced and negotiated through routine neighborhood interactions, including shared religious celebrations, communal labor, children's play spaces, and informal social gatherings (Kamaliah et al., 2024; Sutinah, 2020).

This socio-cultural configuration generates distinctive patterns of parenting and value negotiation. Families in Sidodadi must continuously negotiate moral boundaries as children interact daily with peers from different religious and cultural backgrounds and encounter diverse moral norms in shared social spaces. These conditions require practical compromise, selective adaptation, and the hybridization of values, rather than the straightforward transmission of inherited cultural or religious norms. Consequently, parenting practices in Sidodadi differ substantively from those reported in other multicultural settings, where value transmission is often mediated through formal institutions or guided by clear cultural hierarchies (Hutagalung & Ramadan, 2022; Muhammad & Suhardini, 2025).

Despite the extensive literature on family socialization and value internalization, a clear research gap remains. Existing studies largely focus on parenting strategies or normative outcomes such as tolerance and character formation within culturally homogeneous communities or formal educational institutions (Fristyarini et al., 2025; Furqon et al., 2023). Even research on multicultural families tends to privilege outcomes over processes, offering limited explanation of how families negotiate competing religious and cultural values and reproduce social norms through everyday interactions in localized, non-institutional settings (Apriani et al., 2022; Sugiharto & Riany, 2024). To date, no empirical study has systematically examined these processes within migration-based industrial communities such as Sidodadi, where urbanization, religious plurality, and digital exposure intersect within daily family life. By foregrounding everyday family and neighborhood interactions as the primary site of value negotiation, this study offers an empirically grounded and theoretically informed contribution that has not been sufficiently addressed in previous multicultural family research.

The urgency of this study lies in addressing this gap at a time when social polarization and cultural contestation increasingly penetrate family and neighborhood relations. Understanding how families in Sidodadi negotiate and reproduce social values is therefore essential for explaining how social cohesion is sustained at the most fundamental level of social interaction within rapidly diversifying industrial communities.

To capture these localized dynamics, this study employs Pierre Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Theory, which conceptualizes value transmission as a relational process shaped by the interaction between habitus, capital, and social field. In Sidodadi, habitus reflects internalized dispositions formed through religious socialization, migration experiences, and socio-economic positioning. Cultural capital (e.g., educational attainment, religious literacy, communicative competence) and social capital (e.g., interfaith networks and neighborhood participation) enable families to navigate moral differences and negotiate value boundaries. The local social field characterized by industrial labor relations, dense residential arrangements, and routine interreligious interaction structures the conditions under which values are reproduced, transformed, or hybridized. In this way, Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Theory is not only applied as an analytical framework but also extended to explain how hybrid habitus and adaptive parenting practices emerge within everyday multicultural family interactions.

By applying Bourdieu's framework, this study generates new theoretical insights into how social values are reproduced through everyday negotiation and hybrid habitus formation in multicultural family settings processes that remain underexplored in studies relying solely on psychological or character-based approaches (Suizzo, 2017; Park & Holloway, 2018).

Accordingly, this study aims to examine the concrete mechanisms through which multicultural families in Sidodadi internalize social values in children, analyze the processes of negotiation, compromise, and value hybridization within interreligious family contexts, explore how socio-economic background and parental resources shape variations in value transmission, and interpret how these practices contribute to the development of tolerance, empathy, and social cohesion among children.

Methods

Participants

This study employs a qualitative case study approach to examine the internalization of social values within families living in an intensively multicultural environment. In this research, the “case” is explicitly defined not as ethnic or religious diversity per se, but as families who routinely experience moral tension, value ambiguity, and practical dilemmas arising from sustained interaction with culturally and religiously different others in everyday life. These tensions emerge when families must navigate competing moral expectations, religious norms, and social boundaries in the process of raising children.

The case study design was chosen because it enables an in-depth exploration of complex and contested social processes embedded in real-life contexts, particularly when cultural, religious, and moral norms intersect, overlap, or contradict one another within daily family practices. In line with Yin (2018), this approach is appropriate for investigating contemporary social phenomena in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and its socio-cultural context are inseparable, and where value transmission is shaped by ongoing negotiation rather than by stable or homogeneous norms.

The research was conducted in Sidodadi Village, Taman District, Sidoarjo Regency, East Java. Sidodadi represents a migration-based industrial settlement characterized by dense residential arrangements and frequent interreligious and interethnic encounters. In this context, multiculturalism is not formally regulated through institutions but is produced through everyday proximity, such as shared play spaces, neighborhood religious events, communal labor, and informal social interactions among children and parents. These conditions generate recurrent situations of value tension, including conflicting religious prescriptions, moral expectations, and social boundaries that families must actively negotiate in daily life, such as differences in norms regarding religious participation, interfaith friendships, dietary practices, and the public expression of religious identity in shared social spaces.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling based on criteria emphasizing intensive multicultural engagement and lived experiences of value negotiation, rather than ethnic or religious diversity alone. The inclusion criteria were (1) families residing in mixed ethnic–religious neighbourhood with routine cross-cultural interaction; (2) families with children aged 9–13 years who regularly interact with peers from different religious or cultural backgrounds; and (3) families that encounter concrete situations involving moral ambiguity, disagreement, or compromise, such as participation in interfaith social activities, negotiation of religious practices, or managing conflicting value expectations in everyday interactions.

A total of four families were involved, comprising 13 participants (4 fathers, 4 mothers, and 5 children), representing Javanese-Muslim, Madurese-Muslim, Chinese-Christian, and Batak-Catholic backgrounds. These families were not treated as representative samples, but as analytically significant cases, selected because their everyday experiences reveal how sustained multicultural interaction produces distinctive parenting dilemmas, boundary negotiations, and hybrid forms of value

internalization. These dynamics constitute the analytical core of the case examined in this study, rather than serving merely as background demographic characteristics. They also reveal forms of value negotiation and hybridization that cannot be adequately explained by existing models of family socialization developed in culturally homogeneous or institutionally mediated contexts.

Measurement

Data were collected using three complementary techniques: in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. These methods were employed to capture both articulated reflections and lived practices of value negotiation within multicultural family contexts, allowing for an in-depth understanding of how values are reproduced, contested, and transformed in everyday life.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents and children to explore parenting strategies, moral dilemmas, and experiences of negotiating social and religious values. Interview questions were designed not only to elicit general descriptions of value transmission, but also to capture moments of tension, disagreement, uncertainty, and compromise arising from multicultural interaction, such as managing children's friendships across religious boundaries or negotiating participation in shared community rituals. The complete semi-structured interview guideline for parents and children is provided in Appendix A.

Participatory observation focused on everyday family interactions, including shared meals, religious practices, learning activities, and informal conversations. This method enabled the researcher to observe how values were enacted, contested, adjusted, or hybridized in practice, as well as to capture non-verbal communication, emotional dynamics, and subtle forms of negotiation that may not be fully articulated in interview narratives.

Documentation included family records, religious learning materials, photographs of communal and interfaith activities, and daily schedules. These materials were used to triangulate findings, enhance data credibility, and situate observed practices within broader family routines and neighborhood contexts.

Rather than measuring predefined behavioral indicators, this study adopts a process-oriented analytical focus on how social values are internalized through negotiation, selective adaptation, and hybridization. This approach allows the study to move beyond well-established models of value transmission such as modeling, direct instruction, or religious teaching and to identify distinctive practices, dilemmas, and hybrid forms of value internalization that emerge from sustained multicultural interaction in non-institutional, neighborhood-based settings, which remain underexplored in existing literature.

Analysis

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis, which enabled the researcher to identify patterns, meanings and categories relating to the practice of instilling social values in the family. The analysis process began with a thorough reading of the interview transcripts and field notes, followed by open coding, which is the initial coding of meaningful parts of the data. These codes were then grouped into categories that

reflected key issues in family interactions and parenting strategies. Subsequently, key themes were developed inductively from the data without being influenced by predetermined theories. This approach provided flexibility for the researcher to capture the complexity of each participant's experience and cultural context.

To increase the validity and reliability of the research results, researchers applied method and source triangulation techniques, namely by comparing data from interviews, observations, and documentation. In addition, critical reflection was conducted during the analysis process to minimize interpretation bias. The analysis not only aims to understand what the family does, but also how and why social values are instilled in multicultural family life symbolically, emotionally, and practically. This analysis process refers to the framework which includes three main activity streams in qualitative data analysis, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification.

Findings

The findings demonstrate that neighbourhood configurations in Sidoarjo operate as distinct social fields that actively structure family practices of social value transmission. Families residing in mixed-religion and interethnic neighbourhoods encounter field conditions that demand frequent interaction, negotiation, and symbolic recognition of difference. These field dynamics encourage parents to adopt contact-based and interactional strategies, which are gradually internalized by children as an adaptive habit oriented toward openness, tolerance, and cooperation. Conversely, families located in more homogeneous neighbourhoods engage with relatively stable fields, where limited external interaction reinforces inward-oriented practices centered on religious and cultural instruction within the household.

In Bourdieusian terms, this pattern illustrates how habitus is not a fixed cultural inheritance but a set of durable yet flexible dispositions continuously produced and recalibrated through engagement with specific field conditions. Thus, the reproduction of social values occurs not uniformly across space, but through parenting strategies that are attuned to the opportunities, constraints, and relational logics of different neighbourhood-based social fields.

Practices of Cultivating Social Values in Multicultural Families: Field – Oriented Dynamics

This study finds that the cultivation of social values in multicultural families in Sidoarjo District is not merely an expression of cultural or religious identity, but a situated and relational response to the structure of the social environment in which families are embedded. Drawing on Bourdieu's framework, neighbourhood configurations can be understood as distinct social fields, relational arenas characterized by specific norms, expectations, and interactional demands that shape how families transmit social values to their children.

One mother explained how the surrounding social environment influenced her parenting practices:

"I create a positive social environment by instilling multicultural values in my child and by setting a good example in everyday life." (P1, Mother)

Similarly, one child described the values consistently taught by their parents:

"My parents always teach me to respect differences, even though we live in a diverse social environment." (C1, Child)

These accounts demonstrate that the neighbourhood operates not simply as a physical or demographic setting, but as a social field that shapes everyday parenting practices and children's social learning. Families continuously adjusted their interactions and parenting approaches to maintain harmonious relationships within multicultural communities. Consequently, value internalization emerged not as a fixed cultural inheritance but as a practical adaptation to the logic of the social field.

Three primary strategies of value cultivation were identified: parental exemplification, educational interpersonal communication, and children's involvement in community-based social activities. However, the deployment and emphasis of these strategies varied across families from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, reflecting their differential positioning within particular neighbourhood fields. Families residing in mixed-religion and interethnic neighbourhoods, especially urban housing complexes in Sidoarjo, tended to adopt interactional and contact-based strategies, whereas families in more homogeneous settings emphasized internal religious and cultural instruction. This pattern demonstrates that parenting strategies are shaped less by essentialized cultural traits than by adaptive responses to the relational demands of specific social fields. Analytically, these strategies can be understood as expressions of an adaptive habitus, formed through families' repeated adjustments to the opportunities and constraints imposed by their positioning within specific neighbourhood fields.

Parental Exemplification as Embodied Practice within the Field

Parental exemplification emerged as the most dominant mechanism of value transmission, functioning as an embodied and practical response to everyday encounters within the neighbourhood field. Parents consistently emphasized that children internalized social and moral values primarily by observing parental conduct in routine interactions with neighbours and community members. One participant explained:

"Children learn by imitation when they see their parents serving neighbours, not merely by being told." (P2, Muslim mother)

This statement indicates that value inculcation occurs through practical engagement rather than abstract moral instruction. In line with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, repeated observation of parents' everyday practices enables children to internalize social values as durable dispositions shaped by their social environment.

In mixed-religion fields, parental exemplification often took the form of interfaith interactions, such as sharing food during religious celebrations, assisting neighbours regardless of faith, and participating in communal gatherings. Muslim families encouraged children to deliver food to Christian neighbours during Eid celebrations, while Christian families reciprocated through involvement in community programs.

These practices reflect how families adjust their strategies to the plural norms and expectations of the field, modelling tolerance and mutual respect as socially valued dispositions necessary for sustaining everyday coexistence.

Ethnic variations further illustrate how exemplification is shaped by forms of cultural capital mobilized within the field. Chinese-Christian families emphasized discipline and responsibility through structured household routines and ritual practices, while Madurese-Muslim families relied more heavily on religious storytelling combined with strong community participation. Despite these differences, all practices functioned as mechanisms for embedding socially valued dispositions through everyday conduct, thereby contributing to the formation of habitus.

Educational Interpersonal Communication and the Formation of Adaptive Habitus

Educational interpersonal communication functioned as a complementary strategy, reinforcing values that were already enacted in daily practice. Such communication typically occurred during routine family moments, including mealtimes, bedtime, or study sessions, during which parents conveyed moral meanings through religious narratives, local folklore, and personal experiences. One mother explained:

"I usually read stories of the Prophet at bedtime and tell my children that we must help one another and not discriminate when choosing friends." (P4, Muslim mother)

This account demonstrates that bedtime storytelling served as an important medium for transmitting social values. In Madurese-Muslim households, Islamic narratives and local stories were used not only to strengthen children's religious understanding but also to cultivate values such as honesty, responsibility, solidarity, and respect for others.

Rather than constituting formal or doctrinal moral instruction, these communicative practices served to interpret and legitimize lived experiences within the social field. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this reflects the formation of an adaptive habitus, namely a set of practical dispositions oriented toward maintaining social harmony and relational stability, produced through repeated engagement with the everyday demands of multicultural fields. Through repeated alignment between explanation, experience, and everyday interaction, children internalize tolerance, cooperation, and respect not as abstract ideals, but as pragmatic orientations required to navigate diverse social environments.

Participation in Social Activities as Field-Based Learning

The third strategy involved children's participation in community-based social activities, enabling direct engagement with the social field. Parents reported that involvement in community service, interfaith celebrations, and neighbourhood gatherings allowed children to experience cooperation, empathy, and inclusivity through direct participation. One father described the importance of involving children in interfaith community activities:

"I bring my children to interfaith meals. They learn that sharing is unrelated to religion or ethnicity; what matters is our shared humanity." (P2, Father)

This account illustrates that children's participation in community-based activities provided opportunities to experience social values through direct interaction with

people from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds. Similarly, a Batak-Catholic family involved their children in interfaith food distribution, while a Bugis family emphasized greeting and acknowledging neighbours across ethnic and religious boundaries. These practices demonstrate that participation in community activities functioned as experiential learning, enabling children to internalize cooperation, empathy, and inclusivity through everyday social engagement.

These activities functioned as sites of experiential learning, where social values were enacted, negotiated, and reinforced through participation. As summarized in Table 1, three dominant strategies for cultivating social values were identified through thematic analysis: parental exemplification, educational interpersonal communication, and involvement in social activities. Parental exemplification emerged as the most dominant strategy, followed by educational interpersonal communication and children's involvement in social activities. This pattern underscores the central role of parents as primary agents of early socialization while also highlighting the structuring influence of the broader social field in shaping opportunities for value learning. Consistent with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, value internalization occurred through repeated engagement in socially meaningful practices, transforming external norms and expectations into durable dispositions. The strategies presented in Table 1 emerged inductively from the thematic analysis of interview transcripts, participatory observations, and documentary materials collected from the four participating families.

Table 1. Strategies for practicing social value cultivation in the family

Practice Strategies	Sample Field Practices
Parental Exemplification	Greeting interfaith neighbors; helping with mutual cooperation
Educational Interpersonal Communication	Mealtime discussions; religious storytelling
Involvement in Social Activities	Community service, interfaith celebrations

Table 1 summarizes the dominant strategies for cultivating social values identified through thematic analysis. Parental exemplification emerged as the most dominant strategy, followed by educational interpersonal communication and involvement in social activities.

This hierarchy indicates the central role of parents as primary agents of early socialization, while also highlighting the structuring influence of the broader social field in shaping opportunities for value learning. In Bourdieusian terms, parental practices do not operate in isolation but are continuously shaped by neighborhood-based field conditions that enable or constrain specific forms of interaction. Consequently, value internalization occurs through repeated engagement in socially meaningful practices, transforming external norms encountered within the field into durable dispositions or habitus among children.

Spatial–Neighborhood Configuration as Social Field

A key finding of this study is that multicultural engagement was more intensive in mixed-religion neighbourhoods, particularly in urban areas of Sidoarjo. These neighbourhoods function as plural social fields characterized by frequent cross-cultural interaction, where families encounter stronger demands for openness, cooperation, and mutual recognition.

One mother explained how the surrounding social environment influenced her parenting practices:

"Nowadays, the neighbourhood has a strong influence on how we raise our children. Children play outside and often come home with new words or behaviours. I always tell my child that if something is good, they may follow it, but if it is bad, they should not imitate it." (P3, Mother)

Similarly, one father emphasized the importance of modelling respectful behaviour within the neighbourhood:

"In this neighbourhood, I teach my children to respect our neighbours, appreciate one another, and practice the three S's: smiling, greeting, and speaking politely." (P3, Father)

The children's perspective also reflected the influence of family guidance in responding to the surrounding environment. One child stated:

"My mother always tells me not to be easily influenced by negative things. She teaches me to take the positive things and leave the negative ones behind." (C2, Child)

These accounts demonstrate that neighbourhoods function not merely as physical places but as social fields that shape parental decisions and children's everyday learning. Families continuously adjusted their parenting practices in response to opportunities and challenges presented by the surrounding social environment. In mixed-religion neighbourhoods, these adjustments encouraged children to develop respect, self-control, and openness toward diversity while maintaining harmonious relationships within the community.

Conversely, families residing in more homogeneous rural areas faced fewer interactional demands across cultural or religious boundaries. As a result, value transmission relied more heavily on internal religious and cultural instruction, reflecting the narrower interactional scope and expectations of the field. This contrast demonstrates that value cultivation is not solely a reflection of cultural identity, but also a situated adaptation to the structure, opportunities, and constraints of specific neighbourhood fields.

Contextual Factors Affecting Value Inculcation through the Lens of Capital and Field

Socioeconomic background influenced the forms of capital families mobilized in value education. Families from middle- to upper-class backgrounds, endowed with greater cultural and economic capital, tended to emphasize reflective and conceptual learning through logical discussion, literature, and film-based moral education. Parents also acknowledged that economic conditions, educational background, and local culture shaped the ways in which they transmitted social values to their children.

One father explained:

"Yes, economic conditions greatly influence how we educate our children." (P1, Father)

Similarly, another father stated:

"Of course, economic conditions, educational background, and local culture greatly influence how we instill social values in our children. They shape the way we behave, act, and educate them." (P4, Father)

These accounts demonstrate that the resources available to families extend beyond financial capacity to include educational experiences and cultural dispositions, all of which shape parenting practices and strategies for value inculcation. From Bourdieu's perspective, differences in economic and cultural capital influence how families mobilize resources to cultivate children's social values within their respective social fields.

As summarized in Table 2, this group relied on dialogical explanations and symbolic resources to convey social values. In contrast, lower-middle socioeconomic families relied more heavily on community-based practices, drawing on social capital embedded in neighbourhood solidarity. These families emphasized learning through real-life role models, collective activities, and everyday social interaction, demonstrating that limited material resources often fostered more practice-oriented forms of value education.

Table 2. Value education approaches by economic group

Economic Group	Characteristics of Value Education Approach
Middle to upper	Logical discussion, Literature/movie based value education
Middle to lower	Real-life role models, community solidarity, collective activity engagement

Parents' educational levels shaped communicative styles but did not determine the overall effectiveness of value transmission. Parents with higher formal education more frequently adopted dialogical approaches that explained the reasoning behind moral rules, while parents with lower formal education tended to rely on normative and directive communication. However, empirical findings across groups indicated that successful value inculcation depended primarily on emotional presence, consistency, and alignment with neighborhood field conditions, rather than on formal education alone.

Local traditions further functioned as culturally embedded pedagogical tools within the social field. Practices such as slametan, ritual meals, and ancestral remembrance operated as symbolic resources through which families transmitted values of respect, solidarity, and harmony. As shown in Table 3, social values were not taught abstractly but embedded in concrete family and community practices, such as participating in communal service, respecting religious differences, and practicing everyday politeness. Consistent with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, these repeated

practices enabled children to internalize social values as durable dispositions formed through sustained engagement with socially meaningful actions.

The social values presented in Table 3 emerged inductively from the thematic analysis of interview transcripts, participatory observations, and documentary materials. Through the processes of open coding, category development, and theme generation, recurring patterns of family practices were identified and synthesized into five dominant social values and their corresponding forms of family practice.

Table 3. Social values instilled and their practical forms

Social Value	Forms of Family Practice
Tolerance	Respecting other religions holidays, refraining from imposing beliefs
Empathy	Helping friends in need, donating to sick neighbors
Responsibility	Completing homework; keeping promises
Good manners	Greeting others , requesting permission, apologizing
Mutual cooperation	Participating in community service across different groups

Integration with Spatial - Neighborhood Effects

Importantly, the mobilization of different forms of capital and the effectiveness of these value transmission strategies were closely intertwined with neighborhood configurations as social fields. In mixed-religion and interethnic neighborhoods, families were more frequently exposed to cross-cultural interaction, encouraging the use of contact-based and community-oriented practices reflected in Tables 2 and 3. Conversely, in more homogeneous neighborhood settings, families encountered fewer interactional demands, leading to a stronger emphasis on internally oriented, family based value education. This pattern reinforces the argument that value internalization is not merely an expression of cultural identity, but a situated response to the opportunities and constraints generated by specific spatial neighborhood fields.

Field - Habitus Synthesis

Overall, the findings reveal a dynamic relationship between field and habitus, in which the structure of the neighborhood as a social field generates practical demands for interaction. These demands are translated into everyday parenting strategies and gradually internalized by children as durable dispositions. In mixed-religion fields, this process produces a more adaptive habitus oriented toward openness, tolerance, and cooperation, whereas in more homogeneous fields, habitus formation is shaped by inward-oriented cultural and religious practices. This reinforces Bourdieu's relational logic by showing that habitus formation is inseparable from field dynamics, and that pragmatic parenting practices function as the primary mechanism through which social values are embodied and reproduced.

Discussion

This study demonstrates that the practice of instilling social values within multicultural families in Sidodadi, Taman District, Sidoarjo, occurs through a dynamic, contextual, and multi-layered process. Families do not follow a single, uniform parenting pattern; instead, they negotiate social, economic, cultural, and religious resources to

guide their children. Some parents actively teach values such as tolerance, empathy, mutual cooperation, and responsibility, while others rely more on schools or neighbourhood interactions. These findings align with Hutagalung and Ramadan (2022) and Kusumawati and Hasanah (2024), who emphasize that family socialization practices are strongly influenced by habitus and social capital.

Using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, this study confirms that habitus, capital, and social fields play a significant role in shaping parenting practices. Habitus internalized dispositions shaped by past experiences affects how parents interpret and transmit values to their children. These findings correspond with Bourdieu's ideas and are reinforced by Suizzo (2017), who shows that value socialization in families is deeply influenced by cultural contexts and intergenerational experiences. Parents raised in harmonious and diverse environments tend to reproduce tolerant habitus, while those shaped by competitive environments place greater emphasis on discipline and achievement (Dewi & Mardiana, 2023; Muhammad & Suhardini, 2025).

Furthermore, the application of Pierre Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Theory in this study does not merely mention theoretical concepts but is analytically integrated with empirical findings. Habitus is reflected in parents' patterns of action and ways of thinking shaped by their past experiences, such as the tolerant habitus reproduced by families raised in multicultural environments. Cultural capital is demonstrated through parents' ability to utilize formal education, digital literacy, and communication skills as resources in the process of value internalization. Meanwhile, social capital is evident in families' access to social networks such as religious organizations, neighborhood communities, and interethnic relationships, which serve as sources of support for shaping children's social values. Thus, the findings illustrate strong alignment between theory and data, confirming that social reproduction does not occur automatically but is negotiated through the interaction of habitus, capital, and social fields within a multicultural context.

Cultural, social, and economic capital create meaningful variations in parenting approaches. Middle-class and highly educated parents tend to use reflective communication, dialogic reasoning, and digital media as tools for moral education (Najmudin et al., 2023; Nurhayati et al., 2024). This is consistent with Park and Holloway (2018), who highlight that in multicultural societies, differences in family capital influence children's social competence and quality of interaction. Meanwhile, families with lower socioeconomic status rely more heavily on daily role modeling, religious narratives, and children's involvement in community activities (Sugiharto & Riany, 2024; Apriani et al., 2022).

The study identifies three dominant strategies for value internalization: role modelling, reflective communication, and children's involvement in social activities. These strategies align with Apriani et al. (2022), Khaeriyah and Natsir (2025), and international studies suggesting that social values are formed through a combination of observation, emotional interaction, and engagement in meaningful social activities (Park & Holloway, 2018). Role modeling functions as the strongest mechanism for transmitting habitus, while reflective communication enhances children's cognitive and emotional understanding (Aswandy & Fitriana, 2022; Yulianti et al., 2023).

In the context of technological advancement, digital media emerges as an ambivalent factor. Without proper guidance, children are vulnerable to absorbing conflicting values from online spaces (Prasanti & El Karimah, 2018). The importance of digital parenting is reinforced by Livingstone et al. (2021), who show that parental supervision significantly shapes children's online experiences in terms of both opportunities and risks. This study confirms that families combining exemplary behavior, communication, and digital monitoring achieve more stable and coherent value transmission.

The multicultural environment of Sidoarjo where Javanese, Madurese, Chinese, and Batak families interact creates a unique social field in which diverse values coexist. Families must negotiate influences from schools, religious groups, neighbors, and digital media (Setiaji & Sarmawati, 2024; Rahayu et al., 2025). The intersection between traditional Indonesian communal values and modern values such as autonomy and self-expression contributes to the emergence of a hybrid multicultural habitus (Sutrisno et al., 2025).

This study reaffirms that families remain central agents in the social reproduction of values (Fristyarini et al., 2025; Setyarini et al., 2022). Cultural and religious traditions within Javanese, Madurese, Batak, and Chinese families continue to provide symbolic frameworks for children's moral development (Alfandi & Inayati, 2025). These findings also correspond with the literature on social capital and community involvement, which significantly contribute to children's character and social competence.

From a policy perspective, the study emphasizes the need for family empowerment programs that are contextual and culturally sensitive. Families with limited social and cultural capital especially require support focused on strengthening role modelling, emotional communication, and community-based engagement rather than solely relying on technological interventions (Muthoifin et al., 2024). Collaboration among families, schools, and communities is essential to building an inclusive value-education ecosystem.

Theoretically, this study expands Bourdieu's framework by illustrating that multicultural contexts shape hybrid habitus formed through interethnic and interfaith interactions. Furthermore, family emotional well-being, communication quality, and value alignment are shown to significantly influence children's social development, as highlighted in recent studies.

Methodological justification also needs to be emphasized. The selection of four families was based on a depth-over-quantity consideration, prioritizing comprehensive and rich data rather than a large number of participants. The case study approach enabled the researcher to explore the process of value internalization in a detailed and contextual manner, consistent with the aims of qualitative interpretative research. The age range of 9–13 years was chosen because it represents the *middle childhood–early adolescence* phase, a crucial developmental period during which children begin to form social identity, expand relationships beyond the family, and become more vulnerable to social and digital influences, making the value internalization process more visible and observable.

Despite its contributions, this study has limitations, such as the narrow geographic focus and the qualitative design that cannot quantitatively measure the influence of different types of capital on parenting practices. Future research should adopt mixed-method approaches and longitudinal designs to better understand how value internalization evolves amid technological and social changes. Overall, this study provides empirical and theoretical insights into how multicultural families in Indonesia negotiate and reproduce social values, offering practical implications for strengthening social cohesion in a diverse society.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

The findings of this research demonstrate that the process of cultivating social values within multicultural families in Sidoarjo District occurs through three empirically identified mechanisms: (1) parental exemplification, (2) educational interpersonal communication, and (3) children's involvement in community-based social activities. These mechanisms consistently emerged within participants' narratives and everyday family practices.

The results also indicate that variations in strategies for value transmission are influenced by differences in socio-economic background, parents' educational levels, and attachment to local cultural traditions. Families with stronger access to social and educational resources tend to engage in more structured forms of value internalization through discussion, reflection, and participation in cross-cultural community activities. In contrast, families with more limited resources rely predominantly on daily routines and experiential child-rearing practices.

This research affirms that within multicultural contexts, the transmission of social values is not a uniform process; instead, it is shaped by negotiation between family experiences, community dynamics, and children's interactions with digital environments. Accordingly, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of value transmission as a contextual and situational social process, influenced by the socio-cultural opportunity structures available to families.

Recommendation

Based on the empirical findings, local governments and related institutions are encouraged to develop family empowerment programs grounded in multicultural education, taking into account the socio-economic diversity among families. Educational institutions and community leaders are advised to build collaborative, community-based initiatives that support children's participation in cross-cultural social activities, given the demonstrated effectiveness of community engagement as an arena for value learning.

For non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in family empowerment programs, it is recommended to integrate culturally rooted approaches, as the study found that local traditions serve as a relevant source of social learning. Future research is suggested to further examine the influence of digital media on the internalization of

social values within multicultural families, as well as to conduct comparative studies across regions with different cultural characteristics to enrich theoretical perspectives on value cultivation practices within families.

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Appendix A. Semi-Structured Interview Guideline

Interview Guide for Parents

A. Parenting Strategies

1. What social values do you consider most important to teach your children?
2. How do you instill these values in your children's everyday lives?
3. Can you describe a situation in which your child learned social values by observing your behavior or example?
4. How do you use everyday communication to explain social or religious values to your children?
5. What family or community activities do you involve your children in to help them learn social values?

B. Moral Dilemmas and Value Negotiation

6. Have you ever experienced a situation in which you had to balance religious values with maintaining harmonious relationships with neighbors from different cultural or religious backgrounds? Please describe your experience.
7. Have you ever faced a dilemma when your child wanted to befriend someone from a different religion or cultural background? How did you respond?
8. How do you explain religious, cultural, or social differences to your children?

C. Tension, Disagreement, Uncertainty, and Compromise

9. Have there been any disagreements within your family regarding how children should be raised in a multicultural environment? How were these differences resolved?
10. Have you ever felt uncertain about allowing your child to participate in activities involving friends from different religious or cultural backgrounds? What factors influenced your decision?
11. Can you describe a situation in which you had to compromise between maintaining family values and adapting to the expectations of the surrounding multicultural community?

D. Children's Friendships Across Religious Boundaries

12. What are your views on your children's friendships with peers from different religious or ethnic backgrounds?
13. Do you establish any rules or boundaries regarding these friendships? Please explain.

E. Participation in Shared Community Rituals

14. How do you respond when your child wishes to participate in community activities involving people from different religious or cultural backgrounds, such as community service, religious celebrations, or other communal events?
15. How are decisions regarding your child's participation in these activities made within your family?

F. Contextual Factors

16. In your opinion, how do your family's socioeconomic background, educational level, or local cultural traditions influence the way you instill social values in your children?

Interview Guide for Children**A. Everyday Social Experiences**

1. Can you tell me about your friends at school or in your neighborhood?
2. Do you have friends from different religious or cultural backgrounds? Can you describe your relationship with them?

B. Learning Social Values

3. What do your parents usually teach you about respecting other people?
4. How do your parents teach you these values? Can you give an example?

C. Moral Dilemmas and Value Negotiation

5. Have you ever felt confused or uncertain when interacting or playing with friends from different religious or cultural backgrounds? Please tell me about your experience.
6. What do your parents usually say or do when you encounter these situations?
7. Have you ever had a different opinion from your parents about your friends or the activities you wanted to participate in? How was the situation resolved?

D. Participation in Community Activities

8. What community activities do you usually participate in within your neighborhood?
9. Have you ever participated in activities involving friends or neighbors from different religious or cultural backgrounds? Please describe your experience.
10. What did you learn from those experiences?

E. Reflection

11. What is the most important lesson your parents have taught you about living with people from different religious or cultural backgrounds?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share about how your family teaches you social values and respect for diversity?